4: Tew E-4 (no date) 1950 FN17 Ngonde FN17

The *Nyonmonga* and *Isoo* of Abercorn and Mpanta districts, Northern Rhodesia, are in areas where the density is between 4 and 7 per square mile, and they number less than 10,000.[1]

Tanganyika People[2]

Tribe	District	Total population	Total children	Percentage of children to adults	Percentage of males to females		Increase since 1931
					Adults	Children	
Kukwe	Rungwe	68,107	19,870	74	91	109	..
Sumbwa	Mbeya	19,752	..	..	..	..	..
Nyakyusa	Rungwe	80,788	33,709	..	..	..	..
	Mbeya	9,857	1,050	..	..	..	..
	Other districts	775	331	89	87	100	34,776

Populations of less than 30,000 Persons

Tribe	District	Total population
Kinga	Njombe	27,076
Lambya	Rungwe	16,987
Ndali	Rungwe	22,830
Nyamwanga	Mbeya	16,147
Nyika	Mbeya and Ufipa	25,179
Pangwa	Njombe	20,332
Wanji	Njombe	26,307
Wanda	Mbeya and Ufipa	5,734

LINGUISTIC DATA

According to Doke's classification *Ngonde* is one of the five important languages of the east central sub-zone of Bantu languages, and is spoken in Tanganyika to the north end of Lake Nyasa, where it is known as *Nyakyusa*.[3] In language as well as culture, the Ngonde of Nyasaland are identical with the Nyakyusa of Tanganyika.[4] According to Guthrie's classification, many of the tribes, whose affiliation is not known on cultural or historical grounds, may be classified, on linguistic grounds, as speakers of the Tumbuka group of languages: *Wenya*, *Lambia*, and *Wanda*.[5]

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The *Kinga* inhabit the inaccessible heights of the north and west portion of the Livingstone mountains, which rise to 10,000 ft.[6]

Nyakyusa country is bounded on the south by Lake Nyasa and the Songwe river, on the east by the wall of the Livingstone range, and on the west by the Ndali hills. They live between the two walls of the Great Rift valley. In the north the rift is interrupted and closed by the extinct volcano Rungwe (10,000 ft.), from whose base the land drops in hills and little plateaux to the lake-shore plain. The soil is not very rich,

[1] Gale Brown, c. 1938, maps.
[2] *Census of the Native Population, 1931*, Tables VI and VII.
[3] Wilson, c. 1939, p. 8.
[4] Du Plessis, 1929, p. 303.
[5] Doke, 1945, p. 66.
[6] Guthrie, 1948, p. 81.

8: Wilson E-5 (1934-1936)1936 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

583 Normally a bachelor is given cows one by one, over a period of years, and, as we have seen, he sends them, as he receives them, to the father of the girl he wants to marry. One cow is sufficient for betrothal, but not until he has given three can he begin openly to sleep with her. And he cannot usually set up his own economy until he has given at least three cows and she has reached puberty and been initiated. He may of course bespeak an already grown girl, but if he engages himself to a young one he is expected to bring two or more bulls as well, during the course of her initiation.

684 If he chooses to spend his cows in adultery fines, he may, but he will then have to wait longer to get married.

582 Thus the system of marriage by a transfer of cattle is, in this society,
561 directly linked with a late marriage age for young men and with a privileged position for older men. When a boy gets cattle he at once gives them to an older man in order to secure his daughter as a wife; the labour of every bachelor helps to increase his father's wealth in food; it is in general the older men alone who can afford more than one wife. And there is an average difference of ten years or more in the initial marriage age of men
●[162] and girls. The tax registers show in part of the district, among 3,000 adult* men, 34% bachelors, 37% monogamists, and 29% polygynists; and investigation proves that, generally speaking, it is the young men who are bachelors, the men over forty-five who are polygynists.

511 Though cattle are their most valued form of wealth, it is on agricul-
574 ture that the economy of the Nyakyusa is primarily based. Meat and milk are luxuries, and daily bread comes from the fields. Hard work in a fertile country provides food for each family, and the millet beer which is the ordinary material of hospitality. Hospitality brings a man prestige and authority among his fellows; on the possession of sufficient food largely depends the contentment of his wives. And in the production, preparation and eating of food the relationships of the family and of the individual family within it, are clearly visible.

241 Hoeing is the work of men, planting, weeding, reaping and cooking
512 is the work of women. The men, young and old, hoe for about four hours on most mornings of the year; in the lower altitudes they begin well before sunrise and finish about 9 a.m., on the upland plateau they begin later and continue till noon or beyond. The energetic ones sometimes hoe again for an hour or two in the late afternoon. Different

*Presumed to be 18 years or over.

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
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partly to the closer spacing of children. Whereas four years between births was conventional formerly, two or less is now usual. One of the characteristics of the present population is a disproportion between the sexes, the females outnumbering the males by 100 to 87·9 even when due allowance has been made for men away at work.[1] This disproportion is characteristic also of African populations in the south[2] and it appears likely that it is due to a wide difference in the survival rate of men and women, but the vital statistics necessary to test this hypothesis are lacking.

The increase in population, and the demand for coffee gardens and rice fields by men who prefer to earn cash by agriculture rather than as migrant labourers, has led to a shortage of land, already acute in the fertile lake-shore plain, and imminent in the coffee-growing villages of the hills.[3] Much land that was previously pasture land has been taken into cultivation, and signs of overstocking are everywhere apparent. Hillsides that in 1938 were covered with grass, waist high, now have a thin stubble. To aggravate matters, the care of stock is less efficient than it used to be because it is left to very small boys, their seniors being occupied with school and hoeing. Often the cattle are both ill nourished and covered with ticks—something that was never seen when they were herded by adolescents and carefully hand-dressed. The villagers themselves are as much concerned as the agricultural officers over the shortage of pasture and the decrease in the milk supply, but they are not prepared to accept the remedies recommended: namely, reduction of stock and stall-feeding. The advice of Europeans on the growing of rice and coffee crops, which they introduced to the district, is acceptable, but the Nyakyusa argue

[1] The Census figures cannot be taken as exact, but they give some indication of the increase in population, and the disproportion between men and women. In 1931 the population of Rungwe District was given as 135,080. In 1948 it was 176,388. In 1931 the proportion of males to females (Kukwe and Nyakyusa in Rungwe district) was 73·6 : 100 (Tanganyika Territory, *Census of the Native Population 1931*). In 1941 the figure for Tukuyu district as a whole was 80 : 100 (Tanganyika Territory, *East African Population Census, 1948*). Allowing for 8,800 men away without wives (estimate for 1934 low at 500 per cent), the proportion is 87·9 : 100 (cf. P. H. Gulliver, Report on the Migration of African Workers to the South from the Southern Highland Provinces, with special Reference to the Nyakyusa of Rungwe District, February 1955, p. 16). The discrepancy in the figures given for adults was 82·0 : 100 in 1948, but the ages of males and females classed as 'adult' are uncertain.

[2] D. H. Houghton and E. M. Walton, *The Economy of a Native Reserve*, Keiskammahoek Rural Survey, vol. ii, pp. 194, 31. The sex ratio for Keiskammahoek District is 73·6 males : 100 females.

[3] cf. P. H. Gulliver, *Nyakyusa Land and Population*, 1956.

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
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some copy, the manners of Europeans towards their wives, but neither husband nor wife is quite sure what the change in manners implies, and both are often inconsistent in their behaviour. As an educated Nyakyusa put it: 'They do not know what to expect from each other.'

Marriage relationships are complicated by the disproportion in the numbers of men and women; a disproportion which continues while the rule of monogamy is preached and accepted by many. The first effect of the increase in wealth in Rungwe district was for the marriage age of women to go down; in Mr. Punch's phrase 'too many cattle were chasing too few wives'; but the combined pressure of missions and Administration, and some acquaintance with the customs of the outside world, has reversed that tendency, and the marriage of girls below puberty, which was general among pagans in 1938, now appears to be exceptional. Many girls are still betrothed before puberty, but they do not go to their husbands until after that time, and to be still single at puberty with no betrothed to play his part in the ritual is no longer embarrassing to a girl, for the puberty ritual is not celebrated in full. The ruling of the District Council that a man may not recover more than *one* cow given for a girl who has not reached puberty, if the marriage is dissolved, discourages men from giving cattle for girls who have not grown up. At the same time the marriage age of men is going down. Marriage in the early twenties or even the late teens is common now, for young men who have been to work on the mines can buy marriage cattle for themselves, and Christians who are well-to-do provide for the marriages of young sons instead of taking additional wives. Therefore the gap in the marriage age of men and women is very considerably diminished, but it still exists, and combined with the disproportion in the total number of males and females it means that a considerable proportion of the women (perhaps 30 per cent)[1] must become the junior wives of polygynists or remain unmarried altogether, or live alone as widows.

Among pagans polygyny is approved, but young men are irked by their responsibility for elderly widows, a responsibility that was formerly accepted as a matter of course. Able-bodied wives are still economically an asset even now that trade goods are in general use. For Nyakyusa men—pagans—have insisted that as

[1] The [illegible] rate is calculated as 83 : 100 (*table supra*) and the average difference in the marriage age may well be six years.

9:Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
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the war and the form of its activities has not altered appreciably. Three other missions based elsewhere now have small congregations in the District and a Lutheran pastor under discipline broke away and formed his own 'independent' Church, which differs from the other 'independent' Churches in that the rule of monogamy is enforced.

The total number of converts has increased very considerably, much more than keeping pace with the increase in population; taking the three main missions together, their converts form over 14 per cent of the total population.[1] Figures for the five mission Churches with small congregations in the District—Pentecostal Holiness, Assemblies of God, Seventh Day Adventists, Anglican, and Watch Tower—are not available. Nor do we know the membership of one of the 'independent' African Churches, but supposing the membership of the missions with small congregations in the District to be 2,000 (a conservative estimate) the percentage claiming to be Christian is 14 per cent as against 18 per cent in 1938. Dissimilarities in the response to Christian teaching in different areas are very marked. Around Rungwe, the main Moravian mission-station, the bulk of the population is Christian, and the whole atmosphere is that of a Christian community, whereas in Selya, where mission work began in 1891 as it did in Rungwe, Christians still form a small minority in dominantly pagan chiefdoms. The reasons for this difference are complex. One factor is that Selya is geographically isolated whereas Rungwe is near a main road and within easy reach of the Government and trading centre Tukuyu; but much more important have been differences in mission policy regarding education, and differences in the personalities of missionaries, chiefs, and early converts.

The change from a society based on kinship to one based on voluntary association is apparent in the economic field as well as in the religious. Co-operative societies formed by producers of coffee and rice, which collect and market the crops, and give opportunity

[1] Figures supplied by the courtesy of the missionaries directing each mission and the leaders of two 'independent' Churches were as follows for 1954:

Moravians		19,250
Lutherans		10,000 (approximately)
Roman Catholic		6,700
Last Church (Ngemela)	('independent')	14,500
(Also called 'Native Mission')		
'African Lutheran Church'	('independent')	200

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
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MEMBERSHIP OF VILLAGES

(a) *Ngonde* (Section <Village of Commission IV)

Headman	Village of Father	Village of Father-in-law	Women in village
1. Mwangilo (VII)	Ignesha	Bujoga Ilolo Isinga Ignesha	Half-brother Half-sister married to headman Father's half-brother
2. Kibaila (headman)	Kibaila Father's hole in Kibaila	Ignesha Hole in forest village	Married half-sister of chief
3. Mkongonkoli Mwaipopo	Ignesha	Mwangonse's (C of) children	Half-brother of chief
4. Mwalisanilo	Bujoga, Moved to Kibaila	Another children	None owned
5. Mwenibanilole	Bujoga	Bujoga Moved to Nkola	Married daughter of chief's father's half-brother
6. Mwalolinga	Ignesha	Ignesha	None owned
7. Mwangonse	Kinyasa	Ignesha	None owned
8. Mwalisa	Ignesha	Ignesha	None owned
9. Mwalikipanile	Ignesha	Ignesha	None owned
10. Mwalikisa	Kinyasa	Ignesha	None owned
11. Mwalikipokesa	Another children	Mwenibanga's children (C of)	None owned
12. Mwalikipanile	Another children	Ignesha	None owned
13. Mwalolilole	Mwangonse's children (C of)	Mwangonse's children (C of) Kalisila	None owned
14. Mwenikipile	Ignesha	Lupanda	None owned
15. Mwalikipalaka	Ignesha	Mwenikipile's children (C of)	None owned
16. Mwalanile	Kibaila	Lupanda	None owned
17. Mwajipile	Another children	Another children	None owned
18. Mwanasile	Ilolo	Ignesha Kinyasa	None owned
19. Kinyasa Mwaipopo	Bujoga	Isenkoko	Half-brother of chief's father
20. Mwangilo	Kinyasa	Ignesha	None owned

In one of twenty sections, there are nine kinsmen, and two are married to kinswomen of these three. The remaining fifteen members are not connected by kinship ties.

[p. 229]

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
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(f) *Kalonde* (Generation III)

Members	*Village of father*	*Village of father-in-law*	*Kinsmen in village*	*Kinsmen elsewhere*
a. Gwanshaw	Kinyero		Elder brother of 0	Son in Ndola. Elder brother in another chiefdom (C e)
c. Angamile	Kinyero	Not married	Younger brother of 1	
g. Sangalwingi	Kinyero	Lugamba Kamenkola's chiefdom (C c)		Brother in forest village. Brother in chiefdom (C c). Brother in plain. (All at first built in Katumbe).
e. Kilobe	Bujege	(a) Bujege (b) Kinyero	Half-brother of 5	Elder brother Igamba, moved to C e8. Brother in Christian village Kalonde (at first built in Katumbe). Brother in Mbeya at work. Brother in Iriki (lost away at work).
g. Hlukwa	Bujege		Half-brother of 4	
6. Mwakawa	Bujege	(a) Kinyero (b) Mwangomo's country (C e8) (c) Kilonde	Half-brother of 7	No full brothers. 4 half-brothers moved to other chiefdoms, another to Zanzibar. Daughter married Kilonde, another married Ndola.
g. Hasea	Bujege	not married	Half-brother of 6	
8. Hwilwa	Bujege	Kilonde moved to Igamba		His only son of another, 0 half-brothers in Ndola. Father's younger brother's son headman of Isinga.
g. Nkhobol	Another chiefdom (C e5)	Nkapasa		
10. Mwalilaki				

In, out of ten members, there are one pair of brothers and two pairs of half-brothers, but all have close kinsmen (brothers, half-brothers, or father's brother's sons) in other villages or chiefdoms. Katumbe has diminished from fifty-three members in 1938 to ten in 1955. Many members have died and many have moved, some to the forest colony, some to the plain to plant rice, four to Lupembe.

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
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(c) *Kitole* (Generation IV and V)

Boys (none married)		*Father*	*Father's village*
Andisha	full brothers	Mwasha (131)	Mpunga
Alijwi			
Jamisa			
Meleki	half-brothers	Mwasha (131)	Mpunga
Freda			
Tukafika			
Lawki			
Kimasha			
Ahandekunde		Bampolile	Mwaka
Andambile		Penali	Mwaka
Lalagwa		Mbukanya	Mwaka
Bandolwanile		Imilowa	Mwaka
Anigwile		Mungile	Mwaka
Kafia		Gwila	Mwaka
Kanwilla		Mwaijwi	Mwaka
Akigwele		Mwankund	Mwaka
Bajeka		Mwangwi	Mwaka
Adamile		Gwilliam	Mwaka (beheaded in Legunda)
Kajakasa		Mwalwamba	Mwaka
Fryin		Anitika	Mwaka
Mwilingi		Simon	Mwaka
Ndolwiye		Mwangaja	Mwaka
Onjah		Mwaijaja	Mlundi

I.e. out of twenty-three members, two are full brothers and six others are half-brothers. No other kinship connections were traced.

CONSECRATED PRIESTS MENTIONED

79: 55,

Kikangalaja Kyamba Kindi Nyanjigwa Silabwike	Hereditary Kinga priests who came to Lalaga and visit Kanikile on the way
Kimondo Mwanalungaka Mwandigili	Hereditary priests of Lalaga
Mwanakanda	Kanikile's ancestral priest
Mwalabata Nyanza	Hereditary priests of Mbyanga, the grove of Mwalambwe (p.)
Kilangwa Ngaliya Njelekwa	Village headmen of Mwaijanga (p.) and priests of his grove
Mwambagwa Kalanja	Village headmen of Mwaalanga (131) and priests responsible for 'coming out' of Mwangaba (122)

10:Gulliver E-5 (1954-1955)1958 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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and try to understand the nature and reasons for change. Here, then, is a good opportunity for the study of social change – not only in land tenure as such, but also in village and family organization, political authority and economic life.

II

The Nyakyusa are a Bantu people inhabiting the main part of the Rungwe District in southern Tanganyika, immediately to the north of Lake Nyasa. In 1948 they numbered about 199,000 in that District, but about 10,000 men were probably at the time temporarily absent from their homes and in employment in the mines and towns of the Rhodesias and South Africa (see Gulliver, 1957), whilst about 20,000 had migrated to live in the adjacent Mbeya District to the north.

The tribal area comprises a confined geographical basin surrounding the northern end of Lake Nyasa. It extends only about 40 miles from the tip of the lake at 1,550 feet above sea level to the Poroto Mountains in the north at 8,000 feet; and from east to west is only about 30 miles, from the almost sheer walls of the Livingstone Mountains (with peaks up to 10,000 feet) to the Ndali Highlands (rising to about 7,000 feet). There are therefore unusually large ecological differences within so small an area. Three major regions are to be distinguished: the "Northern Highlands" over about 4,500 feet, the low-lying "Lake Plains" in the south, and the "Central Region" in between. Everywhere *rainfall* is reliable and high, averaging at least 100 inches annually[1], and this amply compensates for a certain poverty and misuse of the soil, although (and particularly in the Central Region) it brings dangers of soil erosion. Except in the highest parts the banana is the staple food, supported by maize, beans, finger millet and groundnuts. In the Northern Highlands coffee has become well established as the principal cash crop: in the Lake Plains paddy rice cultivation provides both a food and a cash crop: in the Central Region the country is too low generally for coffee and too high and dry for rice; consequently cash-cropping is considerably inferior and the people's standard of living is rather poorer.

The Nyakyusa and their country tended for a long time to be relatively isolated from the outside world by high mountain walls and rain-soaked roads. In addition, or because of it perhaps, they developed an almost unique culture which was supported by considerable conservatism and high insularity. They still continue to regard their African neighbours beyond the mountains as their social and cultural inferiors. The turmoil of the slave-trade in Central Africa passed them by; in modern times they have not enthusiastically accepted Christianity and they have refused to take up the use of Swahili, the Territorial *lingua franca*. In recent years, and most especially since the end of World War II, they have, however, accepted and pushed forward with vigour a rapid and extensive economic development, involving particularly the production of coffee and paddy as cash crops, and large-scale labour migration to the south in the high-wage mining industries. The *municipality* of petty, often tiny, independent chiefdoms has been reorganized to provide four local government areas, each under a Rural Council, in which the old chiefdoms have become something like parishes[2]. Although much of the old conservatism and narrow parochialism persists, yet there is now an atmosphere of accepted change, of a keen desire for economic development, and a general acceptance of a cash economy.

Probably the most significant feature of modern life in the Nyakyusa country is the increasing scarcity of land for agriculture in relation to the

1. See Talbot, P. A. The Peoples of Southern Nigeria, vol. II, London, 1926.
2. See Gulliver, P. H. The evolution of a system of local government by African court councils in the Rungwe District, Tanganyika, *The Journal of African Administration*, vol. 9, October, 1957.

10:Culliver E-5 (1954-1955)1958 F7017 Ngonde F7017
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631 Age-villages combined to form a chiefdom under the hereditary chief, *mwanyale*, but active co-operation between villages thus associated was often slight; indeed in the larger chiefdoms there commonly existed temporary animosity which might break out in raiding or even civil war. The integrity of these larger chiefdoms was weak – for example, when the [721] Nyakyusa were attacked by Sanga and Ngoni war-parties, and later by the 348 Germans, villagers of the same chiefdom conspicuously failed to join in common defence. Similarly the local affairs of one village were no concern of any other, and each jealously guarded its own rights.

631 None of the chiefdoms was large; smallness of scale is typical of Nyakyusa political organization and social attitudes. In 1935 the smallest • 162 indigenous chiefdom contained only 36 men. In 1948 31,700 people were divided amongst about 18 indigenous chiefs, but undoubtedly had not the Colonial Government frozen the system there would have been rather more – at least five more. Today there are 12 recognized "*administrative chiefs*", amongst whom five have each less than 3,000 people under them, and the largest chiefdom contains fewer than 10,000 people – the average is just over 4,000 people.

631 Nevertheless the chiefdom, the collection of villages, was important, 341 because in the creation of the chiefdom villages were created, and in its development the villages developed, matured and died away. A village survived only so long as its members lived and by the nature of the age-organization there was but little possibility of the recruitment of new members, for villagers' sons left to form their own new villages. Their sons eventually came to comprise the core of the new chiefdoms.

642 In connection with the constitution of a Nyakyusa village and with 643 land tenure, the significant feature of the chiefdom was its establishment, 776 together with the induction of a new chief, at the great "coming-out" [808] ceremony, *ukwimba*. In brief, each chief was succeeded by two of his sons – the eldest son of each of the senior houses of the chief, i.e., of his first two wives. At the "coming-out" ceremony, when the sons were still young men and their father was not a particularly old man, the old chiefdom was divided into two, each part coming under one of the new young chiefs. Before this critical occasion – at which much important ritual was performed – the younger sons of the old chiefdom had already moved away from their fathers' villages and had established their own incipient villages nearby, each one containing a group of comrade. A Nyakyusa boy from the age of about seven years could not continue to live with his father and mother, but, in company with his agemates, built his own hut on a site adjacent to the main village as indicated by the fathers' headman. Until the "coming-out" ceremony these 'youths' villages came under the control of the old village headmen; but with the induction of the new chiefs they achieved independent status, each with its own headman appointed from among its members by the old headmen. Each new village was allocated a new building site and a new arable area, and quite commonly the old villagers, the older men, moved away a little in order to give the younger men adequate access to the land, for it was considered that the young men's needs for land were paramount.

631 After this wholesale reorganization of the old chiefdom, when new [718] villages were established and new boundaries demarcated,[1] the old chief [221] himself, the old headmen and the older men (the "fathers") gradually retired from active public life. The old chief was supposed to commit suicide 643 after a time (or was quietly killed off) in order to leave the field clear for his [808] sons; the old headmen became the religious and ritual leaders of the new chiefdoms, with the flavour of elder statesmanship, and the old men's

1. "In the 'party tax' [...] it was said that 'everything is given over', [illegible] the old villages and the new small [illegible] of the young men are [illegible]". Wilson, G., 1936, p. 31.

10:Gulliver E-5 (1954-1955)958 F'N17 Ngonde F'N17
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161 If therefore, pending the next Census to be made in 1957, we assume these rates of increase, then by 1955 it may be estimated that the Nyakyusa numbered about 217,000 at an average density of 233 persons per square mile, allowing 13.7 acres of land per family of five. For the Lake Plains alone, the population in 1955 would have been nearly 60,000 at an average density of 287 persons per square mile, with 11.2 acres per family. If we also include the estimated number of absentee migrant labourers in the base year of 1948, then there were in 1955 perhaps 63,000 people dependent on the land resources of the Lake Plains at an average density of 303 per square mile, though in fact some 6,000 men were temporarily absent from home in that year.

The figures and estimates are given in Table I. These averages do, of course, hide some considerable and significant local variations which are further described at pages 14 ff. below.

TABLE I
NYAKYUSA POPULATION

	1948 Census			1955 Estimates		
	a	b	c	a	b	c
Lake Plains at increase of 1½ p.a.	55,700	268	11.9	59,500	287	11.2
Central Region at increase of 1½ p.a.	48,300	224	14.2	51,600	240	13.9
N.E. Highlands at increase of 1½ p.a.	40,300	183	17.6	44,700	203	15.8
N.W. Highlands at increase of 1½ p.a.	53,200	185	17.3	59,000	205	15.6
Nyakyusa in tribal area	197,500	213	15.2	217,800	233	13.7

a = population
b = persons per square mile on land available for African use.
c = average acreage available per family of 5 persons.

Assuming that there were in 1948 about 3,000 men temporarily absent from their homes in the Lake Plains but who remained dependent on the land resources of that region, then the following estimates may be made:-

Lake Plains - persons resident at home and temporarily abroad:-

a	b	c	a	b	c
58,700	282	11.3	62,935	303	10.6

The approximate areas available for African use in the tribal lands (excluding alienated land, forest reserves and main roads) are:-

Lake Plains - 208 sq. miles
Central Region - 217 sq. miles
N.E. Highlands - 220 sq. miles
N.W. Highlands - 208 sq. miles
BaNyakyusa - 933 sq. miles

In these calculations no account is taken of unusable land such as swamps, steep slopes, thicket, etc.

Cash Cropping: Paddy Cultivation

433 This condition of a high density of population exists in a modern
434 economy in which cash-cropping is universally accepted and desired. Under the former subsistence agriculture, because of heavy rainfall and natural annual flooding, quite small-sized holdings were adequate to satisfy a family's food requirements. Two harvests a year are easily obtained in some
241 combination of maize, beans, groundnuts and finger millet, with a few small "luxury" crops; and the luxuries grown yield commensurately. The Nyakyusa were and are extremely fortunate in their food supply, and seldom experience shortages such as occasionally or even commonly afflict many peoples of East Africa.

243 Rice was first introduced in 1896 by two chiefs who obtained the seed
[243] from Nyasaland Anyão; and in 1898 the Moravian Mission and a Swahili

10:Gulliver E-5 (1954-1955) 1958 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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167 423 31 [423] [422] [559] [184]

in fact they usually settle on the common East African pattern of scattered homesteads, each in its arable area, and not in the tight Nyakyusa village pattern.

I think that the headmen and chiefs concerned would not welcome a restraint on immigration, for it offers them a chance to emulate the numerically predominant prestige of their fellows in the flood plains, to whom at the moment they feel inferior. They would, of course, most probably prefer indigenous Nyakyusa, could the latter be persuaded to settle there. As it is, at least some of the Nyakyusa of these northerly villages are trying to move into the flood plains, where they can more easily cultivate paddy and where they can join in a more active and ebullient village life.

423 [471] [431]

One type of foreigner to the Lake Plains is the man (almost invariably a Nyakyusa from the Highlands) who has obtained land but does not settle on it nor in any village. He continues to live in his upland village and comes down to the plains only to cultivate and harvest his paddy field. This is strictly against Nyakyusa land law and custom and, in fact, such an absentee land-holder has often made a substantial monetary gift to the chief or headman for the protection of this extra-legal privilege. These strangers are frequently among the more wealthy upland Nyakyusa, who can afford such payments as these, and often they are of chiefly rank themselves, perhaps having kinship ties with the local chief. There are probably no chiefdoms where such strangers have not obtained paddy fields, though naturally those which contained a good deal of vacant, usable paddy land at the beginning of the cash-cropping era have most.

[208] [443]

This does arouse a certain amount of ill-feeling and opposition amongst local villagers who have insufficient land themselves, for they lose land and gain no numerical strength or profit of any kind. The illegal action of the local chief is also condemned, especially as the chiefs should not in any case assume allocatory powers. On the other hand it must be noted that the commoners philosophically accept the supposedly protected prerogatives of their chiefs under European rule and they expect the chiefs to take advantage of them. As with the case of the minority of large land-holders, the actual effect is not particularly great and reformation here would be a minor palliative. Nevertheless in this matter there is a definite and unpopular infringement of villagers' rights and of the local customary law.

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One other group of strangers may be noted for the sake of completeness. That is the Kisi, who have for at least two generations been settling along the lake shore itself from Mwaya in the east to the Songwe river (and beyond) in the south-west. They have come from the north-eastern shores of the lake and in the Nyakyusa area they are principally fishermen who do not, therefore, compete with the indigenous population economically. They cultivate only tiny plots of cassava and sometimes of finger millet, although a few of the younger generation are now trying to grow a little paddy also. The total number of Kisi involved cannot be more than a few hundred and they have probably not increased much over the past decades. They follow an almost separate existence from their Nyakyusa neighbours, not intermarrying, and following their own way of life.[1]

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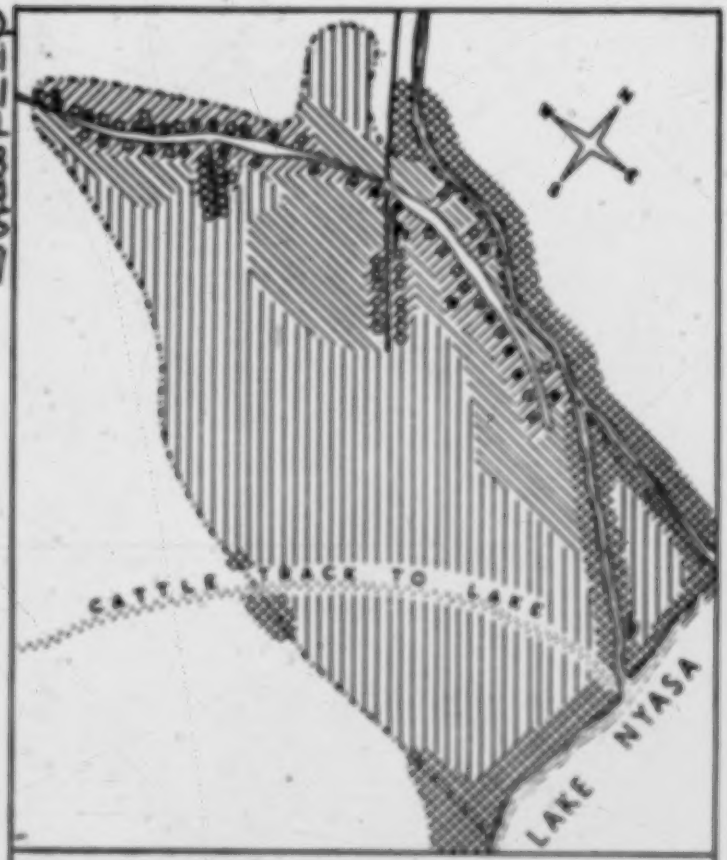
1. The only true settlements in European (Bantu) style in the Lakeside area, as indicated geographically south of the Lake Malawi, where they number about [illegible] and are associated as smaller communities and in the immediate hinterland, mainly along [illegible] Bay. They are widely famed as fishers, and they exchange their catch for cereal foods of [illegible] hinterland.



SKETCH PLAN OF KAPUGI VILLAGE
KOROSO'S CHIEFDOM, 1955

·REFERENCE·

[Facing p. 29]

10:Gulliver E-5 (1954-1955) 1958 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

TABLE V

DISTRICTS IN TANGANYIKA WHERE LAND DISPUTES ARE COMMON

1953	No. of land cases	% of total civil cases	Estimated population density	Population per land case
Bukoba District	1,189	35	69	333
Lushoto Division	749	12	188	743
Moshi District	547	25	277	744
Mpwapwa District	81	29	121	1,393

The Changing Village

The possibly unique age-village of the Nyakyusa is now undergoing considerable and fairly rapid change in response to the new conditions of land shortage. There is, firstly, an increasing sense of village exclusiveness and, secondly, there has been a breakdown in the essential age-basis of its organisation. That is to say, that whilst the corporate unity of the village as an independent group has been strengthened, yet the social foundation of the village has simultaneously been changed and a different sort of village is emerging. It would take us far beyond the scope of this present essay if a full analysis of the changing village were to be made, nevertheless in so far as these changes are more or less directly the consequences of modern land shortage, land tenure and economic conditions some account is essential. Since the age-village was fundamental in the life and social organisation of these people, the new emerging village is of crucial importance.

Land shortage has definitely exaggerated the unity and exclusiveness of the village in the Lake Plains at a time when, for other reasons, it was beginning to become a more open group. There was always, as we have seen, insistence on the principle that only a member of the village could hold and use village land; but village boundaries were often poorly marked and it was difficult to determine which headman, if any, had genuine jurisdiction over land relatively distant from the established village sites. Nor was it particularly important to be able to do so whilst land was plentiful. As paddy cultivation spread, men began seeking extra fields farther and farther away from home as land nearby was all taken up; and so long as they did not attempt to take land in the immediate vicinity of another village site there was seldom much difficulty in this. The attitudes born of a sufficiency of land persisted and headmen were not disposed to protest against outsiders who sought fields near the limits of their vaguely defined areas. Intervillage warfare and raiding had, of course, been abolished as an expression of and a weapon in inter-village rivalries and animosities. With the establishment of general peace and security, and with increasing movement about the country between villages and chiefdoms, such rivalries and animosities began to die away. Many men came to live in the villages which they themselves had not helped to found; their coevals from their fathers' villages lived elsewhere, many of them widely scattered, and it was not possible to maintain a high degree of village patriotism, and, people began to feel, it was not especially necessary or important any longer.

It began to be possible for a man to hold some of his arable land within the area of another village, so long as members of the second village were not deprived of the opportunity of their own agricultural expansion should they desire it. This was especially the case when a large area of hitherto vacant (i.e. bush) but now valuable paddy land was contained within the approximate boundaries of a village. Outsiders were allowed to acquire fields on the strength of kinship with the headman or with one of the established villagers, or even by giving some small present to the headman (e.g. a little beer or some meat, etc.). Land was still plentiful then, or so it seemed to the Nyakyusa, and future shortages and difficulties were not perceived.

10:Gulliver E-5 (1954-1955) 1958 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

NOTE

THE 1957 POPULATION CENSUS

Since this Report was originally written there has been a new census of the African population in Tanganyika. This took place in August, 1957, and the first official results have been published by the East African Statistical Department in *Tanganyika African Population Census, 1957. Analysis by sex and age for Province, District and Territorial Census Areas*, March, 1958.

In this note are given those latest data relevant to the subject matter of this report. The following Table is set out in the same form as Table I on page 12 in which my original estimates were given. As in that Table, so here, no account is taken of unusable land such as swamp, steep slopes, thicket, etc., in the calculation of densities and available acreages.

NYAKYUSA POPULATION

	1948 Population	1957 Population	1957 Density per sq. mile	Acres per family of 5	Average annual increase 1948-57
Lake Plains ..	51,700	66,513	330	10.0	3.0%
Central Region ..	48,500	48,305	223	14.3	0.0%
N. W. Highlands ..	53,200	65,073	326	14.2	2.5%
N. E. Highlands ..	40,300	44,697	303	15.8	1.2%
NYAKYUSA in tribal area ..	197,700	224,590	241	13.3	1.4%

N.B. There are some members of other tribes in the Nyakyusa tribal area who cannot be excluded from these figures.

Assuming that in 1957 there were about 6,000 men temporarily absent from their homes in the Lake Plains but who remained dependent on the land resources of that region, then the following estimates may be made:—

Lake Plains – persons resident at home and temporarily abroad —

58,700	72,513	349	9.2

The changes in population during this nine-year period, in so far as they are indicated by the results of these two censuses, differ a little from what was suggested in Chapter III. Improved enumeration may well account for some of the increase; but, apart from such mechanical errors, it is clear that there has been a relatively large increase of population in the Lake Plains, and in the North-Western Highlands. I suggest that the natural increase in the Lake Plains has been 1-1½ per cent. a year, and the remaining increase has come from immigration (*cf.* pages 18 ff). The same is probably true for the North-Western Highlands where immigration has occurred because some land remained in that region which could still be taken up (unlike other parts of the country). It is noteworthy that the population of the relatively poor Central Region, which has no cash crop and easily eroded land, has remained the same at the end of the period. Undoubtedly there has been emigration from this region to the Lake Plains and the North-Western Highlands.

As far as this report is concerned, the population has been increasing more rapidly and the density is greater than my original figures indicated. I am inclined to think now that the populations of the "very high density" regions of the Lake Plains (page 16) must be well over 500 people per square mile – probably up to 600 people per square mile. Pressure on the land is, therefore, more acute than I reported, and the pressure on the social system of the Nyakyusa is similarly greater. This does not affect the main analysis and arguments of the report.

May, 1958.

[P.236 A]

WANYAKYUSA

131 The Wanyakyusa occupy the District of Rungwe in the Southern Highlands Province. The district lies between 9° and 9½° S. latitude at the northern tip of Lake Nyasa. The altitude ranges from 1,500 feet to 9,500 feet. The district is divided into twelve chiefdoms. The Administrative Headquarters are at Tukuyu, which was known before the British occupation as Neu Langenberg.

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Inhabitants

The local people are not indigenous to this area. They came, tradition has it, from Mulungu via Ukinga after many tribal fights. They are akin to the Wahenga in Nyasaland bordering on the Tanganyika boundary. It is estimated that only 10 per cent of the Wanyakyusa speak Kinyakisi. According to the 1931 census the total population was 153,204. The total number of tax-payers in 1942 was 35,304, or 23.04 per cent of the total population.

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The people themselves are extremely industrious and intelligent. As there are 90 people to the square mile, living conditions are crowded and emigration is continually taking place. The people are partial to litigation over cattle and women. The number of cases heard annually in the Native Courts is about 6,000. There is no one historical and traditional head of the tribe. The twelve Chiefs are, in reality, hereditary Headmen who have been selected by Government to be Chiefs. They are in effect only *primi inter pares* in native eyes, the outlook of the people being unusually democratic for a native tribe.

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The people live in houses made of wattle and daub or bamboo frame, with thatched roof, and villages are ideal mostly along ridges. Rectangular houses are now built instead of the round huts of former days. They often stand in rows with a main street down the middle with houses in the background. The more progressive natives build with sun-dried or burnt brick. Stock are stalled in the same house owing to the prevalence of thieving, but sleep in separate rooms.

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Climate

132 The rainfall of the district varies in the different areas. In Tukuyu itself the annual average for 25 years (1918-1942) is 100.22 inches. On the Lake shore the average is probably higher, but no continuous statistics are available. The heaviest rainfall months are from December to May, but, in most years,